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punishment, since but little of either falls to the lot of the children of these natives, and what little there is is just as likely to be in the hands of mother or father as of *tsoa-*. But the relationship seems throughout to be an official rather than a personal one. It is most in evidence during ceremonial procedure, and will be discussed in this respect in various portions of this book. This does not mean that there is no affection between *tsoa-* and *pasu-*, but that depends entirely on the personalities of the individuals.

The *tsoa-* shares with the father the training of the boy in hunting and fishing. If he lives in another village, his nephew will go and stay for long periods in that village, sleeping, if he wears the *upi*, in the men's house belonging to his clan, but being provided with food by the wife of his *tsoa*. In the case of a boy who stands in the direct line of succession to the headship of a tsunaun lineage, the *tsoa-* must, as the young man grows up, teach him certain ceremonial observances which he will later be called upon to carry out. This right cannot be alienated from him, even though he be not fitted for the responsibility. Pinari had decided to allow Kakari, his *pasu-*, to conduct the approaching *watawutʃ* ceremony, under his supervision, so that he would know the ritual. But he had no great confidence in Kakari, who is a somewhat casual and inefficient young man, so he intended to include his own son Wasē in the instruction, and let him share the responsibility for the ceremony with Kakari. This was not according to rule, but Pinari considered that he was within his rights in so doing, and no one gainsaid him. He could not alienate the succession from Kakari, but it was very evident that had it been possible he would have done so. His sister Pari told me that he was secretly very much displeased with Kakari for his slackness, but that he was 'ashamed' to scold him about it because Kakari was the heir. In this particular case the personal preference for the son over the sister's son was very marked, and I do not think the case was an isolated one.[1] In many instances known to me, the son, and not the maternal nephew, was the recipient of special knowledge of some particular kind of magic, such as rain-making or love charms.

While there are no taboos governing the *tsoa- : pasu-* relationship, when the nephew is grown up there is always a certain amount of reserve between the two. A man's *tsoa-* would not go

[1] The social implications of a situation of this kind are discussed by Malinowski, who found it occurring in the Trobriands (1926 (1), pp. 100 ff.).

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854 baby's eyes and taking it away suddenly with '*Bidr-r-r-r-r!*' Another favourite game is for the mother to sit behind the child, and taking his head between her palms, to rock it gently backwards and forwards, singing: '*A gundra rē'ē, a gundra rē'ē, ku-ku-ku-ku tʃidr*,' with tremendous emphasis on the last syllable, at which she pulls the baby backwards on to her lap. These words are said to have no meaning, as is also the case with other phrases used in games (see also p. 182). It may be that some of these are survivals from some forgotten dialect, or, again, they may be just nonsense. After all, how many of us could give a meaning to 'Eenie, meenie, mynie, mo!' or explain 'Hey diddle, diddle, the cat and the fiddle'?

As soon as he is permitted by custom, i.e. after the child has been washed for the first time, the father begins to help the mother by doing small services for the child, and he will spend much time playing with it and fondling it. A man who had lost his youngest child, a boy about a year old, said to me, with tears in his eyes: 'Now I have nothing to hold.' One of the ways in which a woman punishes her husband when he has displeased her, is by going back to her own people and taking the baby. This happened several times to men of my acquaintance; the result was always the same, the man was so desolate without his youngster that he went and made his peace with its mother and persuaded her to come home again.

852 A little ceremony which is performed for all children, whether *tsunaun* or commoners, illustrates the relation which exists between father and child. When the child has recovered from yaws, the mother's people kill a pig and cook it, and then come and present it, together with ceremonial pudding, to the father, 'because he has tended the child while it was ill and washed its sores'. The phrase used in this connexion is *wataman bai'i*, which might be translated 'to father the child' (*wa-* causative prefix, *tama* = father). It will be remembered that the child does not belong to its father's clan. This presentation by its mother's people seems to be an acknowledgement of services which the father is under no obligation to perform.

Learning to talk.

868 Parents encourage tiny children in their efforts at talking. They themselves talk to their children a great deal, the father as much as, if not more than, the mother. It is a common thing to see father

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taking his small son or daughter for a walk through the village, pointing out various things seen on the way, and giving their names. Adults do not, I think, purposely talk to children in the 'baby fashion' affected by many people among ourselves when addressing small children. But like ourselves, they are proud to repeat to one another what their babies can say, and they used to enjoy explaining to me what was meant by a childish attempt at some hard word.

I give a few examples of childish efforts at pronouncing some of the common words of the language: *ia* = *ien* (fish); *uwi* = *uir* (coco-nut); *dada* = *gag* (short for *ruin a gag*, water to drink); *uku* = *tamu* (taro); *u* = *gu* (pig); *kulil* = *kurir* (beads); *kuli* = *kuka* (crab); *pota* = *potan* (sun); *iwa* = *dʒiwau* (moon); *tua* = *tsura* (fire); *dodo* = *isu* (sit down); *titi* = *tʃitʃi* (milk, or breast, said when hungry); *kāki* = *pāki* (carry pick-a-back). These were used by children of my acquaintance who would be perhaps between two and three years old. The speech of a child of four or rather over was quite intelligible to me.

Learning to walk.

Great interest is taken in the child's first attempts to stand upright, and it is helped in its efforts at walking by being held up with a sling made of the fibrous tissue that grows round the stem of the banana palm. The following 'medicine' is used to make a child learn to walk quickly:

When it first begins to crawl, take the roots of the tree *Toankinon* (belongs to *Rutaceae*), scrape off some of the small rootlets, chew them with the betel-mixture, spit on to your hand and pull on the child's legs, then rub the saliva over them.

At the point when our children are crawling, these babies seem to go through a stage of 'running on all fours', with the knees slightly bent and the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet flat on the ground (see Pl. 12). They crawl as well, but as soon as their interest is aroused in something at a little distance from them, they adopt the other method which is quicker. Nomoin, the baby in the photograph (Pl. 12*b*), was my next-door neighbour and a great friend. He would be crawling about in the ordinary way, but as soon as he saw me would make for me on all fours as hard as he could. At this stage he had cut his central incisors in both jaws, and also one lower lateral, and there were signs of the eruption of the

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would repay fuller investigation from the psychological standpoint than I was able to give it.

The boys wearing the *upi* are not exempt from taking their share in the work of the village. They are encouraged by the older men to share in their daily round. They help in cutting the bush to prepare the ground for planting taro, though they are not allowed in the taro garden while women are working there. They are taken fishing, both ordinary reef-fishing and bonito-fishing. They are taught the technique of canoe-making, house-building, and so on. They join in the ceremonial dances, going round in wheel-formation with the men.

As well as the activities which they share with the adult men, they have also their own. Parties of them were always going off into the bush on their own, either to hunt for small creatures to cook for themselves, or just to wander about. Not wanting to be always with their elders, and debarred from playing with girls of their own age, they have every inducement to develop an organized 'gang' among themselves. There is a word, *tobarupi*, which means 'all the boys' (in a given village). There seems to be a considerable amount of solidarity in their life together, and I do not think that any boy wearing the *upi* was deliberately made to feel an outsider. One of the boys at Kurtatchi was deaf and dumb, but he had been granted the privilege of putting on the *upi*, and was accepted by the others without distinction. They used to laugh at him sometimes, but it was always in friendly fashion, and they never left him out of their pursuits, having evolved a system of signs whereby he could be made to understand what they wanted to convey to him.

In times past, whatever secret chafing may have gone on in the privacy of the *tobar*, the boys seem to have accepted the restrictions under which they laboured with a good grace, and to have felt that they were compensated by the importance conferred upon them. But at the time of my visit signs of resentment at the irksomeness of the taboos might be detected among the older boys. They were supported in their rebellion by the Missions and the employers of labour, and some of the younger men shared their point of view, though every one was careful not to voice his unorthodox views too loudly, in case of punishment either by the *wur* or by the *tumaun*. One or two men with young sons told me, in private, that they were not going to let their children put on the *upi* when

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244 824 796 with jagged red and yellow leaves, which is always planted in the taro garden and is supposed to have the effect of making the taro grow well. Cordyline plants are frequently put there also for the same purpose.

244 796 412 343 Meanwhile the men were cutting poles about 4 to 5 feet long, scraping off the bark top and bottom, and sharpening one end. These are called *isō* and are used to make the holes in which the taro stalks are planted. They form the only actual agricultural implement used in this district, since the trade knives used for clearing bush and weeding serve also a multitude of other purposes. When each man had been provided with one of these the men all went off to the new garden and put up a shelter in the middle of it, over part of the path which ran down its whole length. The shelter consisted merely of poles stuck in the ground with a layer of banana leaves laid across them, but it served to shade a small patch of ground where the *ēto* (medicine) could be prepared, and where food could be eaten away from the heat of the sun. The large packet of ceremonial pudding was laid under this shelter, together with bundles of leaves required for the 'medicine'. The food was consumed at intervals in the course of the day's work.

244 796 [562] Pinari had gone off in the early morning to look for some special leaves in the bush. When he returned, all the men, but no women —except myself, by special invitation—collected round the shelter. The women remained outside the garden, beside the heaps of taro stalks.

[415] 244 796 One of the men made a receptacle (*kōbū*) by twisting up and tying the ends of the thick fibrous sheath of the areca-palm. This he handed to Pinari, who put inside it an old *kōbū* containing a mixture of red dust and scraps of dried leaves. This mixture was not prepared on the spot, it had been obtained a long time ago from an ancestor of Pinari's living at another village, and is very highly valued. It is kept in Pinari's chief hut, and had been brought down, carefully wrapped in banana leaves, earlier in the morning. The mixture is called *tama'uy*. Pinari knows how to make it, but he would have to obtain some of the materials from a distance. [868] Before he dies he will teach the secret to his sons. He told me later that the mixture consisted of scrapings from the roots and leaves of a number of plants, which I was not able to identify, some of them not found locally. These are mixed with a quantity of *magor*. The mixture thus prepared is kept for use as required,